

The National Bank of Romania during The Great Depression 1929-1933

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Abstract: Nearly eighty years ago, the Great Depression had a powerful impact not only on the world economy, but also on the social and political structures at international level by establishing new economic rules and relations, novel ideologies, and a different line of thinking. In Romania, the crisis made itself felt with a time lag, and had specific features combining the general issues with the local ones, which were typical of the weaknesses the domestic economy was mired in.

This paper is aimed at showing how Romania was affected by the economic crisis that brought a plethora of events in its tail. It focuses particularly on the role played by the National Bank of Romania in its capacity as an issuing house. In order to provide a multifaceted image of the crisis, the introductory part of the present paper deals with an overview of the developments in the Romanian economy in the course of the first inter-war decade.

Key words: Great Depression, National Bank of Romania, banking system, public debt, monetary policy.

JEL Code: B25, N24

1. The Romanian economy in the first inter-war decade

To Romania, First World War brought heavy losses in terms of both finance and human lives. At the same time however, the country's territory increased, the new provinces of Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania and Banat taking the total area to 295,049 sq km. The policy-makers behind Great Romania came to manage not only a larger territory with considerably greater resources, but also, most notably, a number of intricate issues induced by the need of recovery given that inflation wreaked havoc with global economies during the inter-war period.

During the 1920s, the Romanian governments took numerous measures of a legislative nature that were targeted at regaining the social and political balance, restoring the economy's structure and ensuring administrative unification.

A particular impact on the Romanian society at that time had the implementation of a far-reaching reform in the agricultural sector. This implied the end of ownership of large estates and the emergence of a significant number of small rural owners who were also granted political rights following the introduction of the universal suffrage. The said changes produced effects on about 80 percent¹ of Romania's inhabitants and entailed equally considerable shifts in its economic and political landscape. From an economic point of view, at that time Romania was still a largely agrarian country. In 1929, the agricultural sector production accounted for roughly 63.2 percent² of total production. However, the new property structure also involved a number of drawbacks, as the plots resulting from the reform yielded low profits and therefore were economically unviable. This fact was enhanced by the excessive indebtedness of small households, as a result of high lending rates applied by the banks doing business in the rural areas given the scant volume of loans granted to entities in this economic sector. Both aspects were seen as the possible reasons behind the pass-through of the fallout from the crisis onto the agricultural sector and credit.

Industry benefited most from the funds supplied by the authorities in an attempt to further pursue the tradition that had been established prior to First World War, i.e. to support local businesses by putting in place protectionist customs tariffs or enforcing legislation with this end in view. This behaviour was fostered, according to the Romanian economist Virgil Madgearu³, by the upturn of world economy. Against this background, not only the industries geared towards household consumption, but also the sectors relying on the turning to account of raw materials were put onto a development path. As regards the latter sectors, foreign investment further played a paramount role. Thus, in inter-war Romania, the industries that saw the fastest growth rates were especially oil-processing and wood sectors, the products of which were, to an overwhelmingly large extent, destined to foreign markets⁴.

¹ In 1930, some 78.2 percent of Romania's inhabitants were engaged in agriculture according to the data included in the work of Virgil N. Madgearu, *Evoluția economiei românești după Războiul Mondial*, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1995, p. 104.

² Tudorel Postolache (co-ordinator), *Economia României secolul XX*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei Române, 1991, p. 115.

³ Virgil N. Madgearu (1887-1940), Romanian economist, sociologist and politician. He was also a theoretician of agrarianism and of the "peasants' state" doctrine, a member of the Romanian Academy.

⁴ V. Madgearu, *op cit*, p. 151.

The ratio of agriculture to industry was the result of developments in domestic trade, which unfolded particularly within small-sized entities or, in the case of rural areas, at regularly held fairs. The ratio of agricultural products prices to industrial products prices was definitely in favour of the latter. This was the culprit for, *inter alia*, the low level of farmers' household income and, hence, the weak demand for industrial goods on the rural market, which acted as a disincentive on the expansion of sectors destined to household consumption.

In the first inter-war decade, Romania's foreign trade recorded significant increases in terms of both value and volume. The trade balance posted, for most of the time, a surplus, due mainly to higher export volumes. The main categories of merchandise destined to foreign markets were grains, petroleum and wood products, goods with large volume and low unit value. As for imports of goods, the highly processed goods, industrial and agricultural machinery in particular, as well as various other products for household consumption were prevailing. The breakdown of foreign trade by country reflected, particularly for the end of the first inter-war decade, the fact that Romania's main trade partners were Austria and Germany⁵.

In order to depict a complete picture of the Romanian economy in the pre-crisis period, the final issue relates to the government's financial position and the developments in the credit system. The financial efforts aimed at supporting the military translated into the drying up of public finances which were left in disarray. During the first inter-war decade, Romania's first single budget was prepared no earlier than 1921. By then, the government's financial requirements, including those induced by the withdrawal from circulation of foreign banknotes and money circulation unification, had been covered by the frequent resort to central bank's currency issue, which fuelled inflation.

The National Bank of Romania's balance sheet⁶ was severely hit by the rising government debt owed to the issuing house, not to mention that convertibility of the domestic currency was disrupted during wartime. Money cover was actually fictitious, given the fact that the stock of gold had been sent to Moscow in 1916. In early 1918, the Soviet authorities issued a decree setting forth that the entire amount of gold was seized in response to the support lent by the Romanian authorities to the participants in the reunification movement of Bessarabia with Romania.

Against this background, the monetary equilibrium was extremely difficult to restore, as the *leu* had seen a considerable devaluation both on the domestic market and versus the other currencies. During the 1920s, the government authorities in Bucharest and the National Bank of Romania's senior management applied various methods for restoring the convertibility of the domestic currency. Eventually, the value of the national currency was stabilised at that of 1928.

The return to convertibility was laid down by the Monetary Act of 7 February 1929⁷. According to the said law⁸, one *leu* was equivalent to 10 milligrams of gold with fineness of 9/10. The currency could be converted into gold (coins or bullions) or gold currencies. The National Bank of Romania had to ensure coverage of its demand liabilities up to 35 percent. Gold in the form of bullions and coins had

⁵ Tudorel Postolache, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-361.

⁶ For more details, see Cristian Păunescu, Mihaela Tone, Nadia Manea, *Istoria Băncii Naționale a României în date*, vol. II (1915-1918), Bucharest, Editura Oscar Print, 2009, pp. 82-91.

⁷ G. C. Marinescu, *Banca Națională a României Legi, statute, dispozițiuni monetare, convențiuni financiare*, Bucharest, 1939, pp. 500-523.

⁸ *Ibidem.*, pp. 498-499.

to account for at least 25 percent of the cover stock, whilst the remainder of 10 percent could consist of gold foreign exchange⁹.

The resources that the National Bank of Romania needed for ensuring liquid funds in order to restore convertibility were made available under the Stabilisation Loan at an interest rate of 7 percent. The Romanian government took that loan from abroad by the agency of the Romanian Kingdom Monopolies Autonomous House (CAM).¹⁰

The statute of the National Bank of Romania was amended with a view to enhancing the issuing house's independence, increasing the portfolio liquidity and expanding the operational framework, by tailoring it to the peculiarities of the Romanian economy. The central bank's capital was thus raised to *leu* 600 million, from *leu* 100 million, and the state's participation was reduced from 30 percent to 10 percent.¹¹ As mentioned above, the National Bank of Romania tailored its activity and tools to specific market needs and was empowered to receive for rediscounting farmers' policies with maturity up to nine months, in a proportion of at most 25 percent of the total portfolio. At the same time, temporary advances granted to the Treasury should not exceed *leu* 2 billion and had to be repaid on a yearly basis by 31 December¹².

Stabilisation-related operations, together with the entire activity of the central bank, were to be subjected to supervision by a foreign technical advisor assigned to assist the NBR staff for as long as three years. Charles Rist, who was appointed to this job, was the former deputy governor of *Banque de France* and enjoyed a consultative vote in the Romanian central bank's Board.

In turn, the developments across the Romanian banking system in the first inter-war decade mirror many weaknesses. Over the period under review, the number of banks posted an unprecedented rise, from 543 in 1920, when total capital ran at *leu* 2 billion, to 1,097 in 1929, with total capital of *leu* 11.2 billion.¹³ Such a phenomenon disregarded the real needs of the economy, since many credit institutions were undercapitalised. Among the leading banks in operation in Romania at that time, the following deserve mention: *Banca Românească*, *Banca Marmorosch Blank*, *Banca de Credit Român*, *Banca Comercială Română*, *Banca Chrissoveloni*, *Banca de Scont*, *Banca Comerțului din Craiova*, *Banca Generală a Țării Românești* and *Banca Agricolă*.

The destination of each borrowing was directly connected to the size of the bank that launched the loan offer. Large banks ensured financing particularly for the industrial sector and commercial enterprises, but were also engaged in lending to the agricultural sector, although the volume of such loans was rather small. Over the period under review, banks specialising in lending to the industrial sector were also set up. In this regard, the most reputed bank was the Industrial Credit National Corporation (*Societatea Națională de Credit Industrial*), which was established in 1924. Nevertheless, the means destined to supporting the agricultural sector via loans were insufficient. In spite of granting numerous loans, *Creditul Rural* and *Banca Agricolă*, addressed chiefly large - and medium-sized landowners, whereas small owners had to resort either to cooperative credit organisations, under the coordination of the *Centrala Băncilor Populare*, or to small-sized local banks.

⁹ Lazăr Ionescu, *Relațiunile dintre Banca Națională a României și Stat 1880-1935*, Bucharest, 1935, pp. 207-211.

¹⁰ G. C. Marinescu, *op.cit.*, p. 500-523, for comments see also Lazăr Ionescu, *Relațiunile ...*, pp. 195-197.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Enciclopedia României*, vol. IV, p. 725.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 565.

As a result of inflation and the insufficient capital destined for financing the agricultural sector, interest rates applied to this sector were exceedingly high on the Romanian market¹⁴. Thus, even the discount rate of the National Bank of Romania was left at 6 percent per annum in the first inter-war decade, interest rates ranged from 16 percent to 28 percent¹⁵ during the pre-crisis period, but the average rates on loans extended to small farmers stood in a range between 35 percent and 40 percent¹⁶, and could, in some cases, reach even 50-60 percent per annum¹⁷. The staggering increase in the indebtedness level of small peasant households in the context of lower prices for farming produce and the decline in the value of real estate property during the crisis-ridden period caused many borrowers to default on their loans.

Looking at the portfolio of commercial paper rediscounted with the National Bank of Romania in 1929, one can get an image regarding the share of loans granted to farmers in total lending. Thus, out of the amount of more than *leu* 45 billion representing the total value of commercial paper rediscounted with the National Bank of Romania in 1929, roughly 33.8 percent of main debtors were accounted for by farmers, and *leu* 3.1 billion consisted in commercial paper with maturity of more than 100 days¹⁸.

At the end of the first inter-war decade, the Romanian economy hinted at a fragile equilibrium, as it was fraught with many weaknesses that were to come to the fore once the crisis dragged the country into its grip. Against this backdrop, the statement made by Victor Slăvescu¹⁹ – one of the most renowned economists of the time – in 1932, namely that, to Romania, the crisis was ‘an imported product’ cannot be regarded as fully grounded. For Romania, the Great Depression merely enhanced some of its economic weaknesses.

2. The Great Depression in Romania

The first signs of the economic crisis getting Romania into its grip delivered a heavy blow to the country’s foreign trade. This translated into a significant fall in prices of Romanian products intended for exports: grains, oil and wood. Producers sought to alleviate this by increasing the physical volume of exports.

The export volume indices pinpoint the limits of the Romanian economy, which in 1931 was no longer capable of supporting the production growth in terms of volume, as well as the numerous barriers to intra-state trade in the aftermath of the crisis. This development translated into a narrower trade balance surplus, as well as into a foreign exchange deficit which had an impact on Romania’s balance of payments and would cast doubt on the domestic currency stability.

¹⁴ Victor Slăvescu, *La situation économique de la Roumanie et sa capacité de paiement*, Imprimeria Centrală, Bucharest, 1934, pp. 44-46.

¹⁵ Victor Axenciuc, *Evoluția economică a României Cercetări statistico-istorice 1859-1947*, vol. III, Bucharest, Editura Academiei Române, 1998, p. 73.

¹⁶ V. Slăvescu, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

¹⁷ V. Madgearu, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

¹⁸ Banca Națională a României *Raportul Consiliului de administrație către Adunarea generală ordinară a acționarilor din 16 februarie 1930*, Bucharest, Imprimeria Băncii Naționale a României, 1930.

¹⁹ Victor Slăvescu (1891-1977), Romanian economist and politician; professor at the High Commercial and Industrial Studies Academy in Bucharest, author of many monographs focusing on various banks in Romania; a member of the Romanian Academy.

Table 1.

Export price index (1929-1933)

Year	percent			
	vegetal products	wood	oil	total exports
1929	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1930	58.0	86.1	80.5	69.9
1931	42.2	67.6	40.4	45.6
1932	40.4	52.6	41.3	41.9
1933	33.1	52.2	39.8	38.5

Source: Nicolae C. Sută (co-ordinator), Gabriela Drăgan, Maria Mureșan, Sultana Sută-Selejan, *Istoria comerțului exterior și a politicii comerciale românești*, Editura Economică, 1998, p. 147

The developments in Romania's foreign trade affected the economy as a whole through the sharp fall of prices on the domestic market.

Table 2.

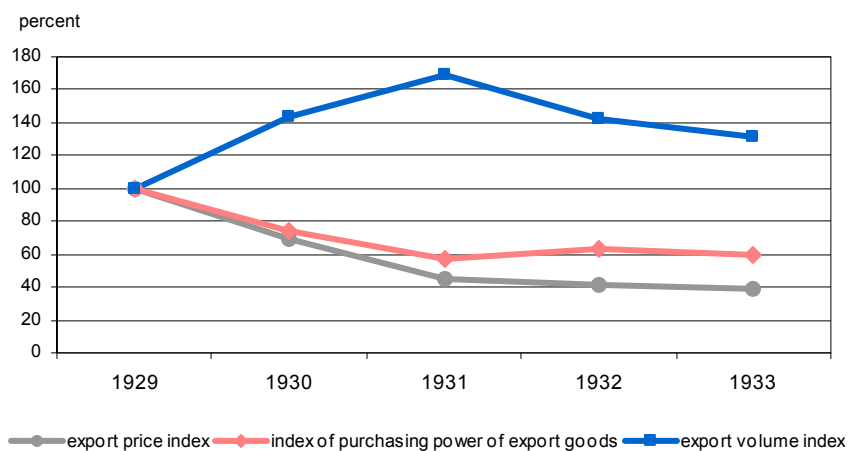
Volume index of Romania's foreign trade (1929-1933)

Year	percent										
	Imports					Exports					Export/ import ratio
	Food- stuffs	Raw materials	Semi- processed goods	Finished products	Overall index	Livestock and animal products	Agricultural products	Wood	Petroleum products	Overall index	
1929	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1930	78.5	82.8	98.4	71.8	78.7	127.8	179.9	77.5	135.7	143.8	182.7
1931	77.4	70.8	89.2	44.9	58.6	118.0	215.4	75.1	173.6	169.4	289.1
1932	76.1	101.5	102.7	35.7	57.4	88.9	156.4	49.6	181.8	142.7	248.6
1933	83.1	100.6	120.4	33.4	60.3	58.4	116.7	40.8	204.6	131.1	217.4

Source: Nicolae C. Sută (co-ordinator), Gabriela Drăgan, Maria Mureșan, Sultana Sută-Selejan, *Istoria comerțului exterior și a politicii comerciale românești*, Editura Economică, 1998, p. 137

Chart 1

Ratio of purchasing power of export goods to their volume



Source: Nicolae C. Sută (co-ordinator), Gabriela Drăgan, Maria Mureșan, Sultana Sută- Selejan, *Istoria comerțului exterior și a politicii comerciale românești*, Editura Economică, 1998, p. 138.

Table 3.

Developments in Romania's foreign trade (1929-1933)

year	leu millions, current prices		
	exports	imports	balance
1929	28,960	29,628	-668
1930	28,522	23,044	5,478
1931	22,197	15,755	6,442
1932	16,722	12,011	4,711
1933	14,171	11,742	2,429

Source: Nicolae C. Sută (co-ordinator), Gabriela Drăgan, Maria Mureșan, Sultana Sută-Selejan, *Istoria comerțului exterior și a politicii comerciale românești*, Editura Economică, 1998, p. 136

Table 4.

Wholesale price index in Bucharest (1929-1933)

year	percent		
	agricultural products index	industrial products index	overall index
1929	100.0	100.0	100.0
1930	78.4	68.2	92.6
1931	60.2	50.8	73.2
1932	54.0	47.7	62.1
1933	52.3	44.9	62.1

Source: Victor Axenciuc, *Evoluția economică a României Cercetări statistico-istorice, 1859-1947*, vol. III, p. 309

The unfavourable trade developments hit firstly the incomes of rural population, which made up roughly 80 percent of Romania's population and was the main grain supplier. The situation of the small households was the more so difficult as their equilibrium had been particularly frail in the previous period as well; retail prices of agricultural products saw extensively larger declines than prices for industrial products used in the rural area.

The lower purchasing power of rural population translated into the flagging consumption of industrial products and in the falling debt repayment capacity (whether fiscal debts or bank loans). Moreover, the incomes of urban population followed a downward path as well, under the impact of rising unemployment (about 39,000 registered unemployed persons in 1932 versus 7,500 in 1929²⁰), of successive decreases in wages of budgetary sector employees and not only, and of the several months delay in the payment of public sector wages in 1931. Wage earnings declined markedly, holding barely 63.1 percent in 1933 as compared with those recorded in 1929²¹.

Foreign trade developments, such as higher exports and lower imports, as well as the retrenchment of domestic consumption brought the overall industrial production to a stalemate, except for oil drilling industry whose volume rose by over 50 percent. Paradoxically, the decline in industrial production value was lower than that in the oil drilling industry. The rise in the production of this sector was particularly aimed at offsetting price decreases, given that the foreign investors were interested in maintaining their profit levels, while the Romanian government intended to support exports by way of such products.

Table 5.

Developments in the purchasing power of agricultural products

year	agricultural price index	price index of goods purchased by agricultural products	index of purchasing power of agricultural products
1929	100.0	100.0	100.0
1930	68.2	93.2	73.2
1931	50.8	74.5	68.2
1932	47.7	68.6	69.5
1933	44.9	69.0	65.1

Source: *Enciclopedia României*, vol. IV, p. 931-933

The economic crisis did not have a significant impact on the agricultural production, particularly grain crops, whose volume in this period was higher than that in the first inter-war decade, but lower than that recorded in 1929. Nevertheless, the volume of grain exports posted a twofold increase in 1931 as against 1929, although the production volume accounted for less than 90 percent of the 1929 crops, illustrating the overly high export volume to the detriment of domestic consumption.

²⁰ V. Axenciuc, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 1992, p. 532.

²¹ *Enciclopedia României* vol. IV, p. 933.

Table 6.

Industrial production dynamics in terms of volume and value

year	percent			
	production value		production volume	
	overall index	oil drilling industry	overall index	oil drilling industry
1929	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1930	86.0	88.1	98.1	119.7
1931	68.7	37.2	90.9	139.7
1932	67.2	39.3	96.9	152.0
1933	72.3	43.0	110.4	152.5

Source: *Economia României secolul XX*, co-ordinator acad. Tudorel Postolache, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 1991, p. 235, 268

Table 7.

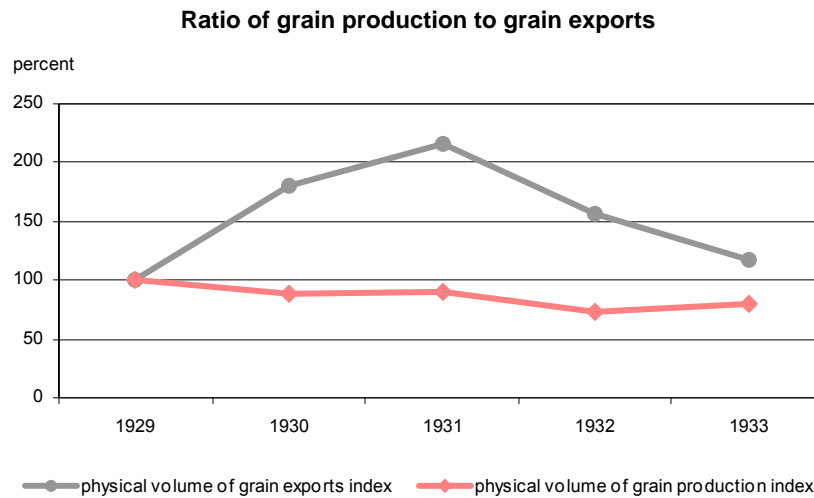
Total value of vegetal and animal production in constant prices* (1929-1933)

year	total production	lei million
1929	145,960	
1930	141,335	
1931	149,493	
1932	126,507	
1933	135,517	

* Constant value was calculated based on prices representing the arithmetic mean of prices for every product included in the agricultural statistics of 1928-1929.

Source: *Economia României Secolul XX noua tranziție la economia de piață premise istorice și perspective*, co-ordinator acad. Tudorel Postolache, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 1991, p. 226-227

Chart 2



Source: Nicolae C. Sută (co-ordinator), Gabriela Drăgan, Maria Mureșan, Sultana Sută-Selejan, *Istoria comerțului exterior și a politicii comerciale românești*, Editura Economică, 1998, p. 138.

The economic crisis also affected public finances, credit and currency developments. Apart from the weaknesses of the Romanian economy, in this field too, the effects of the crisis were enhanced by international events: withdrawal of US capital invested in the European economy, the bank crisis in 1931 and the bankruptcy of the Vienna-based Creditanstalt, the suspension of the pound sterling convertibility etc.

3. The struggle for the convertibility of the leu

Regaining the convertibility of the *leu* was deemed at that time as an auspicious beginning for a period of general prosperity arising from a stable currency and foreign capital inflows²². Yet, in order for those expectations to become reality, the stabilisation itself had to be achieved against the background of a thriving economy. However, according to Virgil Madgearu, a Romanian economist, the timing for achieving stabilisation was wrong: the trade balance and the budget recorded deficits and the level of domestic prices was higher than the *leu*'s purchasing power abroad²³. To all this added the deterioration worldwide of economic relationships triggered by the outbreak of the Great Depression. Thus, all the potentially favourable effects of stabilisation were annihilated, as it was fulfilled with the effort of a sizeable foreign credit, and all the deficiencies facing Romania' economy became even more pronounced²⁴.

The stabilised *leu* was continuously subject to the pressures generated by the fallout from the crisis. The mixed cover system (gold and foreign currencies) established by the Monetary Act of 1929 had,

²² Victor Slăvescu, *Criza noastră economică și soluțiunile ei*, Bucharest, Tipografia Copuzeanu, 1932, p. 2.

²³ Virgil N. Madgearu, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

²⁴ V. Madgearu, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

apart from the advantage of a flexible National Bank of Romania stock, a number of flaws as well. A connection was thus established between Romania's monetary system and the economies of stronger countries where the foreign currencies came from. Moreover, the money circulation could be partly covered from Paris, London or New York. The use of this system had also financial consequences. Holding foreign currencies in accounts with foreign banks without asking for their conversion into gold represented, as a matter of fact, a credit granted to their origin countries²⁵. All these deficiencies became fully manifest during the crisis, when the United Kingdom gave up the convertibility of the sterling in 1931 and two years later, in 1933, when the USA discontinued payments in gold to subsequently resort to a managed devaluation of the dollar.

The stabilisation of the *leu* did not however bring about the expected inflows of foreign capital into the Romanian economy. On the contrary, since the very beginning massive capital outflows were reported for the domestic currency, converted into foreign currency owing to the recently-achieved convertibility. The National Bank of Romania attempted to put a stop to this phenomenon by launching an issue of interest-bearing cash vouchers and by raising the discount rate during March-May 1929 from 6 percent to 9.5 percent.

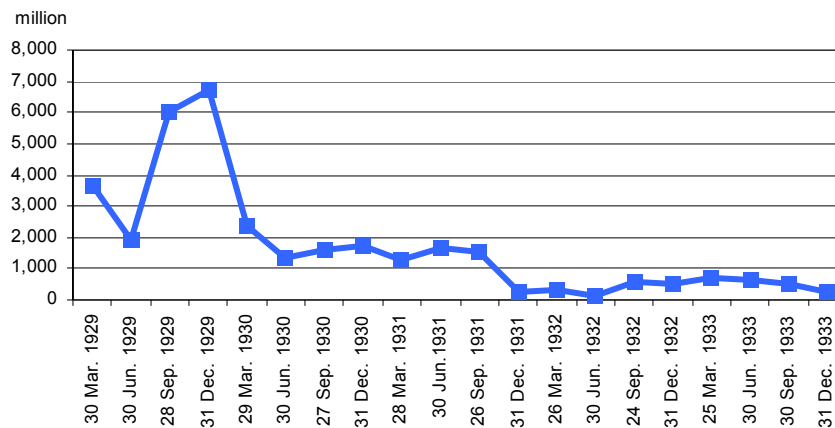
The stock market collapse in New York on 21 October 1929 prompted a faster withdrawal of foreign capital which at that time had reached a peak during the banking crisis in Romania, also as a result of the bankruptcy of Vienna-based Creditanstalt. The foreign exchange inflows failed to cover the outflows generated by external debt service repayments, the payments for imports and the massive capital flight.

Therefore, the possibility to convert the domestic currency into foreign currencies, which the National Bank of Romania used to a large extent for protecting its metal stock, acted to the detriment of the national economy resources, providing one of the main means whereby foreign financing sources were withdrawn.

²⁵ apud Costin C. Kirişescu, *Sistemul bănesc al leului și precursorii lui*, vol. II, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 1997, p. 369. See also George Ianăş, *Criza „Gold Exchange Standard-ului”*, Bucharest, Cartea Românească, 1936, as well as Costin Stoicescu, *Politica institutului de emisiune al României în epoca depresiunii mondiale*, Bucharest, the Official Monitor, Imprimeriile Statului, Imprimeria Națională, 1932.

Chart 3

Developments of foreign exchange stock (1929-1933)



Source: BNR, Rapoartele Consiliului de administrație către Adunarea generală a acționarilor 1929-1933

During November 1929 – May 1930, foreign and Romanian capital withdrawals amounted to around *leu* 8.1 billion²⁶. This was reflected by the dramatic decrease in the convertible foreign exchange stock which ensured the cover of the National Bank of Romania issue. According to the weekly statements published by the issuing house, its level dropped from *leu* 6.3 billion at the beginning of 1930 to *leu* 1.5 billion on 24 May 1930 (Annex 1b).

The chart above shows both the massive inflows of foreign currencies, following the two loans taken for Stabilisation in 1929 and for Development in 1931, as well as the plunge in the foreign exchange reserves, in the context of foreign capital withdrawals, external debt service payments and the decline in the trade balance surplus starting with 1932.

By comparison, the gold stock recorded a steady increase from *leu* 8.2 billion in early 1929 to almost *leu* 9.9 billion at end-1933 (Annex 1). This performance was due not only to the purchases of gold from Romania's production, but also to foreign currencies being converted into gold in the context of the UK giving up the convertibility of the pound sterling. The gold amounts in the metal stock that the National Bank of Romania had to sell in order to cover the foreign exchange deficit were shortly recovered, pointing to the bank executives' concern towards maintaining and enhancing this component of the cover stock.

Another factor putting pressure on the National Bank of Romania's foreign currency stock, and implicitly on the stability of the *leu*, was the task legally undertaken by the issuing house with regard to the transfer abroad of the country's debt payments. The changes in the National Bank of Romania's foreign currency stock illustrated almost entirely this factor as well.

The situation of the central bank was increasingly critical given that by paying the external debt coupon at mid-1930 the foreign exchange stock might have dropped to only *leu* 446 million, which endangered convertibility. In this context, National Bank of Romania senior executives had to apply the

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 228.

solution agreed upon by foreign creditors and imposed on them by means of the technical advisor. According to this solution, the gold purchased by the National Bank of Romania after 15 May 1930 could be used, if need be, to obtain the foreign exchange necessary for complementing the cover stock, with the possibility of resorting thereto, only under exceptional circumstances, in order to obtain the foreign exchange directly by selling a gold amount from the metal stock. Most Board members were of the opinion that the US dollar 25 million loan granted to the National Bank of Romania by several issuing banks in 1928 for underpinning stabilisation had to be resorted to. The technical advisor succeeded, however, in imposing his opinion, by specifying that it was based on previous consultations with issuing banks²⁷. Thus, a policy was established that was to be adopted by the National Bank of Romania in the following two years, envisaging first and foremost the maintenance of currency stability and the payment of external debt even at the cost of sacrificing the raw material resources and making debts abroad.

The analysis of Romania's balance of payments (Annex 2) during 1929-1933 shows the manner in which the said principles were implemented. Pushing up exports and reducing imports resulted in a trade balance on surplus, the price cuts notwithstanding, failing to offset the sizeable capital outflows which totalled *leu* 13,508 million for 1930-1932*. Apart from the capital outflows, as shown before, the payment of external debt was a heavy burden on Romania's balance of payments, throwing it in disarray. To all these added the current spending incurred by the government and individuals. Against this background, the currency stability could be maintained only by new foreign borrowings taken by the government, and also by the recourse to the National Bank of Romania's reserves.

During 1930-1931, the government resorted to the National Bank of Romania's foreign exchange stock in order to pay the external debt coupon, which weakened the latter's position by the partial depletion of the foreign exchange stock and by the sale, in the first part of 1931, of a gold amount worth *leu* 550 million out of its cover stock²⁸.

Giving up the convertibility of the sterling on 21 September 1931 had a significant influence on the decrease in the National Bank of Romania's foreign exchange stock and implicitly on the stability of the currency. Once with the devaluation of the British currency, the National Bank of Romania incurred a loss of more than *leu* 300 million²⁹ and found itself forced to transform into gold part of the currencies which were no longer safe. Thus, on 13 November 1931, the National Bank of Romania's Executive Committee approved the sale of pound sterling 1,366 thousand from its foreign exchange stock, of which pound sterling 800 thousand were to be converted into gold and pound sterling 566 thousand into French francs. Likewise, US dollar 1,400 thousand were to be converted into gold.³⁰

In view of the necessity to protect the cover stock, some of the National Bank of Romania's Board members advocated the introduction of restrictions on the foreign currency operations, but at that time

²⁷ The National Bank of Romania Archives (ABNR), NBR Board of Directors Fond, file 208/1929, the Minutes of the Board Meeting of 30 May 1930, pp. 145-152.

*Other figure for capital outflows *leu* 12,528 million for 1930-1932 in Virgil Madgearu, *La capacitate de paiement et la dette publique de la Roumanie*, Bucharest, 1933.

²⁸ Victor Slăvescu, *Curs de monedă credit schimb*, Editura Scrisul Românesc, Craiova, 1932, p. 367.

²⁹ Corneliu Rudescu, *Criza Băncii Naționale (Bilanțul unui an de zvârcoliri)*, Bucharest, Institutul de arte grafice „Bucovina”, 1932, pp. 4-5.

³⁰ ABNR, NBR Board of Directors Fond, file 229/1931, p. 247.

the foreign technical advisor resisted this proposition, which led to a postponement in adopting this measure³¹.

Another factor putting a marked pressure on the stabilised *leu* was the banking crisis whose effects were felt in Romania in the second half of 1931. Faced with a liquidity deficit, generated by both bad investments and increasingly numerous requests to return deposits and participating interests, credit institutions in Romania resorted repeatedly to the resources provided by the National Bank of Romania's rediscounting. In order to help them, the National Bank of Romania agreed upon an unprecedented increase in the discount portfolio, from *leu* 7.2 billion at end-May to *leu* 13.3 billion at end-November 1931. Consequently, during the same period, the value of banknotes in circulation rose from *leu* 18.7 billion to *leu* 23.5 billion. This development, combined with the drop in the issuing bank's stock following the afore-mentioned pressures, had a direct impact on the cover, which fell to 36.01 percent on 12 December 1931, almost reaching the legal limit of 35 percent (Annex 1c).

The government spending rendered even more difficult the situation of the stabilised *leu*. The budgets implemented in 1929-1930 were brought into balance with much effort by raising fiscal burdens and reducing expenditures. In early 1931, the receipts to the government budget posted a plunge, hinting at the depletion of the Romanian economy resources³². In March 1931, Charles Rist was of the opinion that Romania was "on the verge of a huge disaster, unless immediate measures were adopted" in order to bring government expenditures back into balance³³. His forecasts were to be confirmed, as in the following years, the revenue and expenditure budgets of the Romanian government closed on sizeable deficits (*leu* 6,989 million in 1931; *leu* 1,883 million for budgetary year 1932/33 and *leu* 2,377 million in 1933/34³⁴).

From this point of view, the crisis undergone by the government finances may be better comprehended judging by the manner in which the government used the *leu* 2 billion advance which the National Bank of Romania could make available in order to bridge the time lags between receipts and expenditures. In 1929 and 1930, the amount mentioned was entirely used as early as the first quarter, whereas in 1931, it was used up ever since the first month of the year³⁵. Another matter for concern was the delay in the government's repaying the loans granted by the National Bank of Romania, i.e. usually in the final weeks of December. As a result, during 1932-1933, those loans were no longer repaid.

In this case too, the resort to new foreign borrowings provided a partial solution; the most significant borrowing was the Development Loan at an interest rate of 7.5 percent in 1931. The amount borrowed came in at French franc 1,325 million, with the credit being pledged, the same as that taken in 1929, by the government revenues granted to the Autonomous Administration of State Monopolies. In spite of its being meant for streamlining certain economic sectors (organising the agricultural credit, modernising railways, investing in agriculture), the mentioned borrowing was used to cover the budget deficit, support some of the ailing banks and, implicitly, maintain the stability and convertibility of the *leu*.

³¹ *Ibidem*, file 233/1932-1933, pp. 80-81.

³² M. Maievschi, *Contribuțiuni la istoria finanțelor publice ale României 1914-1944*, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1957, p. 211.

³³ ABNR, Secretariat Department Fond, file 31/1931, p. 125.

³⁴ Tudorel Postolache, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

³⁵ ABNR, Secretariat Department Fond, file 31/1931, p. 127.

Although indirectly connected to the issue of maintaining the convertibility of the *leu*, a particular episode stood out during the unfolding of negotiations on that loan, having a sizeable bearing on the relationship between the National Bank of Romania and the government.

Foreign creditors conditioned the completion of negotiations on the new foreign borrowing upon the extension of the mandate of the technical advisor to the National Bank of Romania. This conditioning was resisted by the National Bank of Romania's Board members, particularly by Dimitrie Burillianu, the then-governor of the central bank. They refused the presence of a foreign advisor with a consultative vote within the Board, given that very often his opinion was worth a veto. Following the tradition established by the National Bank of Romania executives ever since the end of the 19th century, Dimitrie Burillianu thought that "The issuing house must be entirely independent in its actions and enjoy an absolute autonomy from the government."³⁶ His position led to his removal from office before the expiry of his six-year mandate. The dismissal was substantiated by the lack of confidence inspired by the governor's stance among the members of the government, in view of the fact that the borrowing was an imperative need for the entire country and the government was the only authority vested with the power to decide upon the financial policy of the country³⁷. This solution, regardless of the rationale behind it, illustrated the damaged autonomy of the issuing house in its relationship with the government. A precedent was thus established that was later to engender new abuses of the government with an impact on the domestic currency's equilibrium.

In what concerns the foreign advisor, a trade-off was finally reached. Roger Auboin, the deputy technical advisor to the National Bank of Romania (Charles Rist was the technical advisor to the National Bank of Romania) became the technical expert invited by the Romanian government on a two-year mission. His mandate consisted only in drafting half-yearly reports on the country's economy. The National Bank of Romania committed itself to give him all the support both by providing the information necessary for preparing the reports and by covering the spending related to his stay in the country, including the payment of his advisory fee³⁸.

Despite the foreign currency inflows from the Development Loan, the coverage ratio of demand liabilities was difficult to maintain, dropping from 44.65 percent at the beginning of 1931 to 36.04 percent at year-end. Out of the cover stock only one percent were gold foreign exchange (see Annex 1 c)³⁹, the NBR cover stock thus losing most of its flexibility.

This shift also mirrored the broad-based global trend to eliminate foreign exchange from the cover stock following the abolishment of the sterling convertibility. This trend was equal to recognising the failure of the gold exchange standard. In the case of Romania, the trend seen in 1931 became more marked over the years that followed, when the NBR steadily diminished the weight of currencies included in its cover stock, which by 1936 was made up only of gold.

Returning to the problems related to Romania's balance of payments, the inflows of foreign currencies were so low that, during 1932, they jeopardized the money coverage, in February, the foreign exchange stock fell to *leu* 52 million. Against this background, in January 1932, the NBR was

³⁶ ABNR, NBR Board of Directors Fond, file 216/1930-1932, p. 190.

³⁷ Grigore Gafencu, *Însemnări politice*, Bucharest, Editura Humanitas, 1991, p.119.

³⁸ ABNR, Secretariat Department Fond, file 31/1931, pp. 37, 55-56.

³⁹ BNR, *Rapoartele Consiliului de administrație către Adunarea generală ordinară a acționarilor* for 1931 and 1932

constrained to take from *Banque de France* a loan worth francs 250 million. With the same purpose, the CAM took a loan worth French franc 150 million.

Nevertheless, the state of NBR's foreign exchange reserves witnessed no improvement, as the authorities were constrained to choose between implementing a restrictive foreign exchange trading regime⁴⁰ and the exhaustion of all international means of payment of the country in exchange for maintaining the convertibility of the *leu*.

The NBR was granted by the government decision of 18 May 1932 the monopoly on foreign exchange transactions⁴¹. According to the aforementioned piece of legislation, all foreign exchange-denominated means of payment such as cheques, bills of exchange, and all the foreign currencies held by banks, companies and individuals could be sold solely to the issuing house or to the banks authorised by it. Foreign exchange resulting from exports, borrowings, etc. had to be surrendered to the central bank. Foreign exchange could be purchased or sold only at the exchange rate set by the National Bank of Romania.

The control over foreign exchange operations was extended to all cross-border payment categories resulting from government liabilities, trade, or representing expenses (i.e. study, medical treatment, tourism, etc.). The explicit goals of the new foreign exchange regime were the following: to remove fund transfers masking capital outflows and to make provisions to cover public debt servicing and imports. Other cross-border payments such as private debt repayments were carried out only within the limits established by the NBR⁴².

The NBR management was generally in favour of this decision. Constantin Angelescu, the NBR Governor, considered that the decision would help preventing the hoarding of foreign exchange in response to the effects of the crisis. Some members of the management deemed the decision as an adequate but late or less effective measure, taking into account that it had to be accompanied by the control over exports⁴³.

Another aspect worth mentioning regards the institutional state the central bank was in. By means of pieces of legislation enforcing the control over foreign exchange operations, the NBR was given special prerogatives as the government's agent in relation to the other credit institutions and individuals. The issuing house held the monopoly on foreign exchange operations, the setting forth of the official exchange rate, the approval of cross-border transfers of amounts in either domestic or foreign currency. Moreover, it was given the prerogative of preventive control over all foreign exchange operations (irrespective of their being private or public), which implied the cooperation with the Ministry of Finance. This exceptional situation had considerable repercussions, so that the management of the issuing house considered it as a duty to explain the new statute as follows:

“Obviously, the control over the use of foreign exchange is not a measure recommended in a normal foreign exchange regime, but it was the only solution, and had it not been taken timely, the economy as a whole would have been severely affected.

⁴⁰ For more details, see George Virgil Stoenescu (co-ordinator), Brîndușa Costache, Elisabeta Blejan and Adriana Iarovici Aloman, “Foreign exchange regime in Romania between 1929 and 1939” in “Proceedings of OeNB Workshops No. 13”

⁴¹ *Jurnalul Consiliului de Miniștri nr. 591* of 17 May 1932 published in *Monitorul Oficial* No. 230/ 1 October 1932, *Regulamentul pentru aplicarea legii privind comerțul cu devize* published in *Monitorul oficial* No. 250/25 October 1932.

⁴² Virgil N. Madgearu, *op. cit.* p. 232-233.

⁴³ NBR Archives, Board of Directors Fond, file 233/1932-1933, pp. 80-81.

This measure was triggered by the significant run on banks, leading to capital flight or hoarding, as well as, on the one hand, by the pressing demands for immediate repayment of foreign loans and, on the other hand, the impossibility to recoup the amounts due for Romanian exports, locked up in many countries by various restrictions”.

“Control over the use of foreign exchange was performed directly by the National Bank of Romania via centralisation, as the bank thus undertook a difficult task that could not be refused, given the importance of this issue directly concerning the stability of the domestic currency”⁴⁴.

The implementation of restrictions on foreign exchange operations, i.e. gold and gold foreign exchange, meant actually giving up the convertibility of the *leu*. This resulted in the depreciation of the exchange rate of the *leu* in a range of between 5 percent and 15 percent⁴⁵.

4. Public debt between transfer difficulties and insufficient resources

As mentioned above, besides preserving national resources, one of the objectives of the new foreign exchange regime was to ensure the amounts necessary for the payment of the external debt coupon and for foreign trade requirements.

Initially, these objectives seemed to be within reach. Foreign exchange inflows to the NBR increased from *leu* 410 million in May 1932 to *leu* 970 million in June that same year. The uptrend continued throughout the year. The NBR met all foreign exchange demands of the government and 84 percent of those of individuals. Nevertheless, the foreign exchange deficit recorded that year reached *leu* 2,332 million, and forced the NBR to sell from its reserve stock gold worth *leu* 547 million in May and August. This explains the *leu* 884 million worth of foreign exchange reserves at year-end, but also the drop in the cover to the threshold of 35.84 percent provided by law⁴⁶.

Given the foreign exchange deficit, the National Bank of Romania management had to consider the possibility of deferring or rescheduling the payment of the external debt coupon maturing in June-July 1932. Finally, the NBR Board decided, and the decision was voiced by Governor Constantin Angelescu, to sell part of the gold stock to purchase the foreign exchange needed for paying the external debt. Nevertheless, the NBR could not avoid transferring the external debt coupon, the more so as the government had already made the necessary payments in domestic currency by the agency of CAM. The issuing house’s refusal or delay in making payments would have had “serious consequences that could jeopardise the primary interests of the central bank. /.../ this could be seen as default in payment, which is not true”⁴⁷. Against this background, the decision taken by the central bank’s management was to take a gold-backed, short-term loan in amount of *leu* 680 million from the Bank of England⁴⁸.

In time, the problem of public debt payment turned out to be even more difficult to solve, despite the efforts made to this end. Adding to the transfer difficulties stemming from the foreign currency shortfall were those related to the decline in budget receipts from *leu* 36,018 million in 1929 to *leu*

⁴⁴ BNR, *Raportul Consiliului de administrație către Adunarea generală ordinară a acționarilor Băncii Naționale a României*, 1933, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁵ Gh. N. Staicu, *Schimburile cu străinătatea în regim restrictiv*, Bucharest, 1944, pp. 101-104.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ ANBR, NBR Board of Directors Fond, file 233/1932-1933, p. 87.

⁴⁸ V. Slăvescu, *La situation économique.....*, p. 135.

18,364 million in fiscal year 1933/34, with expenditures remaining at a sufficiently high level and incurring a *leu* 2,377 million deficit.

At the same time, foreign exchange receipts remained low. Thus, throughout 1933, despite the restrictions on foreign exchange operations, the NBR's foreign exchange stock included in the cover stock stood below *leu* 750 million, due to the narrowing of the balance-of-payments surplus, as well as to the restrictions in payments by many European countries, Romania's trade partners.

Table 8.

Developments in budget revenues and expenditures (1929-1933)

Year	budget revenues	budget expenditures	total public debt annuity
1929	36,018	34,607	6,403
1930	34,155	31,579	6,851
1931	27,713	34,702	6,447
1932/33***	23,008	24,891	6,463
1933/34	18,364	20,741	4,540

*** 15 months

Source: Tudorel Postolache, *Economia României ...*, pp. 364, 370

Romania's critical financial situation was mentioned in the first half of 1932 by Charles Rist in his capacity as technical advisor with the National Bank of Romania and representative of foreign creditors. At his proposal, the government requested the assistance of the League of Nations in order to restore the country's financial position. The agreement between the government of Romania and the League of Nations on a "Consultative Technical Cooperation" was concluded on 28 January 1933. The document stipulated, *inter alia*, the direct control of the aforementioned international institution on Romania's finance and was signed under the pressure of foreign creditors, who refused the temporary reduction of external debt annuities. The Romanian authorities delayed the implementation of the Geneva Agreement, and denounced it later in 1934 for the reason of the change in economic conditions⁴⁹.

Taking into account the economic state Romania was in and the global developments in the payment of cross-country debts (Hoover Moratorium, etc.), the first agreement with foreign creditors was concluded in February 1933, allowing for the reduction by *leu* 2,197 million of public debt annuities. Given Romania's situation, this reduction was insufficient. Thus, in its meeting of 15 August 1933, the Council of Ministers decided to suspend external debt repayments and to request the start of negotiations with foreign creditors for the reduction of the foreign debt coupon⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ Apud C.C. Kirițescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-376.

⁵⁰ M. Maievschi, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

5. The role of the National Bank of Romania in the context of the banking crisis

The Great Depression was also felt in Romania through a banking crisis that played havoc in 1931 and in subsequent years, with profound implications on the NBR activity.

Similar to the other sectors of the economy, in this case too the crisis highlighted the flaws of the Romanian banking system, such as the overly large number of banks, the weak capitalisation thereof, deficiencies in fund management, etc.

Credit did not bear the brunt of the crisis during 1929-1930 particularly due to the Stabilisation Loan, which brought a capital surplus on the credit market, used for the state takeover of the immobilised, rediscounted portfolio with the NBR and for effecting any overdue state payments. Against this backdrop, banks' capital and reserves soared *leu* 1,562 million year on year, while the funds taken through deposits rose by *leu* 4,453 million⁵¹.

However, the benefits of the foreign capital contribution gradually faded out and the crisis started sending ripple effects. Thus, the first consequences of the previous years' high interest rates emerged in 1930, with higher incidence of credit default and depreciation of the related collateral. The situation worsened in 1931, when debtors defaulted – particularly in agriculture – due to accrued interest rates and the sharper drop in prices.

To this added the banking crisis in Central Europe, which materialised in the bankruptcy of Vienna-based Creditanstalt in 1931. In Romania, this translated into massive foreign capital outflows, which made domestic depositors increasingly jittery and thus led to the default of three major banks, namely *Banca Generală a Țării Românești* (in June 1931), *Banca Berkovits* (in July 1931) and *Banca Marmorosch Blank* (end-1931). The banks' balance sheets in 1931 showed that total redemptions from time deposits amounted to *leu* 17,746 million, to which added more than *leu* 5,000 million withdrawn from current accounts⁵².

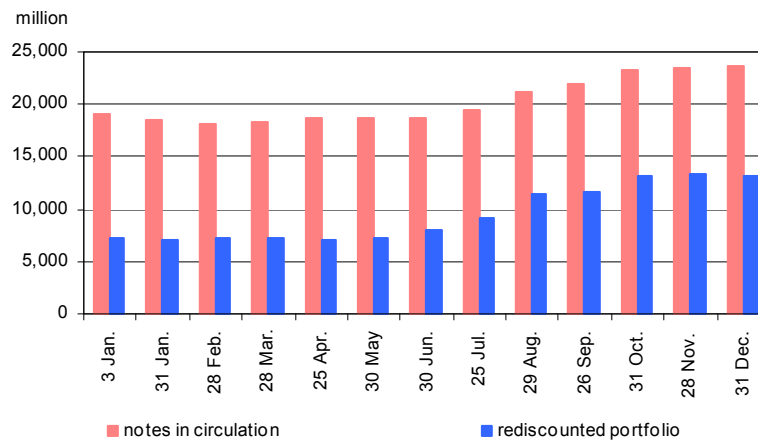
Amid these developments, the central bank was increasingly called upon to provide assistance to banks that were no longer able to honour depositors' redemption requests from their own resources. These pressures translated into a larger number and higher value of commercial paper submitted to the issuing house for rediscounting starting July 1931. Initially, June through July, the NBR tried to avoid any excessive rise in circulation, also with a view to ensuring the required amount of convertible currencies for external payments. Subsequently, however, in the latter half of the year, in a broad-based state of panic, the central bank gave up on these rules and accepted an increase in rediscount and hence in the volume of banknotes in circulation to the limit of the cover stock.

⁵¹ V. Axenciuc, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 109.

⁵² *Ibidem*, pp. 109-110.

Chart 4

Ratio between the rediscounted portfolio and the volume of banknotes in circulation (1931)



Source: BNR, Raportul Consiliului de administrație către Adunarea generală a.

A significant episode for the evolution of the banking crisis in Romania and for the NBR's role in this environment relates to the attempts at bailing out *Banca Marmorosch Blank*, one of the country's leading credit institutions at the time. It engaged in numerous speculative transactions and enjoyed the support of King Carol II, a close friend of the bank manager, Aristide Blank.

The bank had overcome several obstacles in previous years, both with support from the National Bank of Romania and via overvaluation of two asset items. Thus, at a time when movables and immovables were losing their value, a plot of land (Bordei) owned by the bank was overvalued by about *leu* 200 million, while its stake in *Banca Industrială* was overrated by *leu* 1,590 million⁵³. The credit institution was therefore in an extremely awkward position, reflecting both the very large deficit incurred in the bank management and the resort to virtually illegitimate means to bridge such shortfall.

Both the state and the central bank tried to rescue the credit institution in 1931, as insisted upon by the king himself, but also with the contribution of the finance minister of the time, Constantin Argetoianu, one of those who - in the years prior to the outbreak of the crisis - had endorsed the management of the bank that was now on the brink of bankruptcy. The bailout plan consisted of various actions. To start with, the rediscount level with the NBR was raised, while the central bank and the state took over some of the bank's doubtful assets. Subsequently, the NBR insisted on the creation of a syndicate comprising *Banca Marmorosch Blank*, *Banca Românească*, *Banca de Credit a României*, *Banca Moldova* and *Banca Chrissoveloni*. The purpose of this association was to provide ailing banks with the required commercial paper to obtain liquidity via rediscounting with the NBR. As these additional rescue measures proved insufficient, the finance minister tried to force the merger of

⁵³ ABNR, Secretariat Department Fond, file 6/1929, p. 104, technical advisor report of July 1931.

the aforementioned member banks and, when the relevant negotiations failed, he attempted a takeover of Marmorosch Blank by the state.

All these efforts ended in failure, although they had been endorsed by the king himself and generated by the fear that the collapse of a major bank might send ripple effects to the entire banking system. The managers of *Banca Românească* proved hostile to the projected merger, while the NBR Governor, economist Mihail Manoilescu⁵⁴, voiced his opposition to the proposed takeover of the ailing bank by the state. This eventually led to the default of *Banca Marmorosch Blank* on 21 October 1931⁵⁵. Here is how Constantin Argetoianu portrays that afternoon's events in his memoirs: "*Banca Românească and Banca de Credit had enough resources available to cope with the redemption requests that were, of course, more numerous than usual, yet without any trace of panic. Confronted with increasing redemptions and the scarcity of available funds, Banca Moldova and Chrissoveloni managed to overcome the difficulties with the central bank's support. However, the debacle hit Marmorosch Blank./.../ Until noon, waves of people had flooded Doamnei Street⁵⁶, trying to squeeze through the gates of the grand palace*"⁵⁷.

Looking beyond the drama of small depositors, this episode ended with a renewed breach of central bank independence in relation to the state. Thus, Mihail Manoilescu was removed from office prior to the expiry of his mandate because of the attitude displayed towards the last-ditch bailout plan of Marmorosch Blank. Against this backdrop, N. Bălănescu, one of the NBR administrators, stated that "*the sudden and continuous changes having occurred in this environment are likely to damage our institution's reputation*", all the more so that "*this new interpretation of the government's right to replace the NBR governor at its own discretion is a source of concern to us. And it is our duty to call out to the government and voice our concern, with all due respect.*"⁵⁸ The final emphasis of this statement was definitely on the "respect" shown to the government, yet the text itself conveys the belief that - beyond the crisis rocking the country - the changes in the management of the issuing house replaced the rule of law with the arbitrary will of the king, who wanted to subordinate the central bank as well through the government.

The trials and tribulations of 1931 left an indelible mark on credit institutions' balance sheets. During that year, banks earmarked *leu* 26,141 million for creditors' redemption requests, leading to a contraction both in available assets (cash and cash equivalents) by *leu* 4,950 million and in highly-liquid placements by *leu* 14,966 million (discounted commercial paper, rediscounted paper, government stocks and shares, long-term loans, sundry debtors), to which added a *leu* 6,225 million increase in the discount portfolio⁵⁹.

Although more moderate, the retrenchment in banking activity persisted into the following years as well. The number of banks declined from 1,102 in 1930 to 893 in 1933, while their capital diminished from *leu* 11,628 million to *leu* 9,929 million⁶⁰.

⁵⁴ Mihail Manoilescu (1891-1950), Romanian economist, professor of political economics, served as minister several times, Governor of the National Bank of Romania (14 July - 27 November 1931).

⁵⁵ For further details on the banking crisis in Romania, see Constantin Argetoianu, *Memorii*, Vol. IX, Bucharest, Editura Machiavelli, 1997; Mihail Manoilescu, *Memorii*, Vol. II, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 1993; Grigore Gafencu, *Însemnări politice*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 1991.

⁵⁶ The Marmorosch Blank head office was located on this street in downtown Bucharest.

⁵⁷ Constantin Argetoianu, *op. cit.*; p. 328.

⁵⁸ ABNR, NBR Board of Directors Fond, file 216/1930-1932, p. 186.

⁵⁹ V. Axenciuc, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 109-110.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

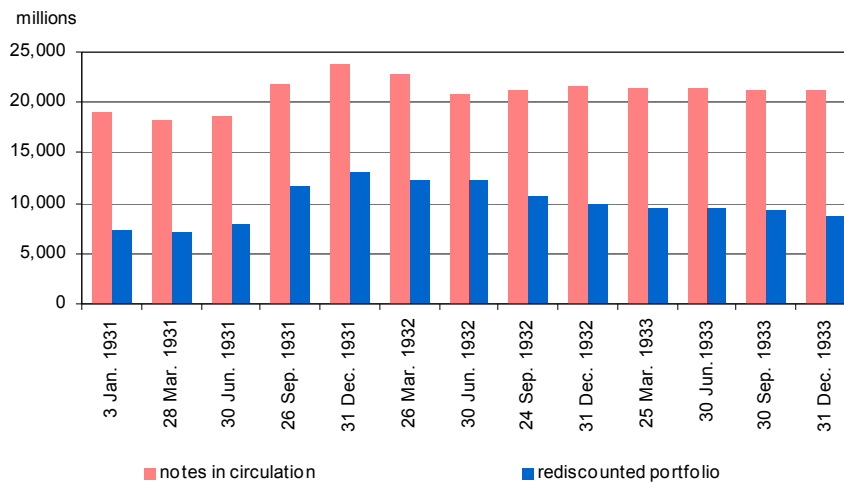
According to calculations performed in 1934 by the finance minister of the time, economist Victor Slăvescu, the total funds withdrawn from bank deposits exceeded *leu* 27 billion from mid-1931 until early 1933. Out of this amount, *leu* 8.5 billion were accounted for by the withdrawals of foreign capital and the hoarding of domestic capital, *leu* 14 billion consisted of investment in real estate construction until end-1933, *leu* 4 billion were deposited as various placements with the NBR and *leu* 1 billion deposited with the *Casa de Economii*⁶¹.

The hoarding of capitals withdrawn during 1931 is also noticeable from the comparative developments in the NBR discount and in banknotes in circulation. While the volume of commercial paper discounted with the NBR followed a downtrend 1932 through 1933, the value of notes in circulation also slumped, albeit at a slower pace.

Against this background, the dramatic plunge in banking activity in 1931 and the following years' stalemate could be anticipated based on the activity of the Bucharest-based Clearing House. Thus, the payment operations conducted via the aforementioned institution amounted to merely *leu* 8.1 million in 1932 and *leu* 6.8 million in 1933, compared to *leu* 63.4 million in 1931 and *leu* 89.8 million in 1930⁶².

Chart 5

Ratio between the rediscounted portfolio and the volume of banknotes in circulation (1931-1933)



Source: BNR, Rapoartele Consiliului de administrație către Adunarea generală a acționarilor (1931-1933)

Successive legislative provisions on borrower-lender relations had their share in the blockage of the Romanian banking system. At first, the forced sale of defaulters' property was forestalled December 1931 through March 1932 by way of several pieces of legislation. Subsequently, an attempt

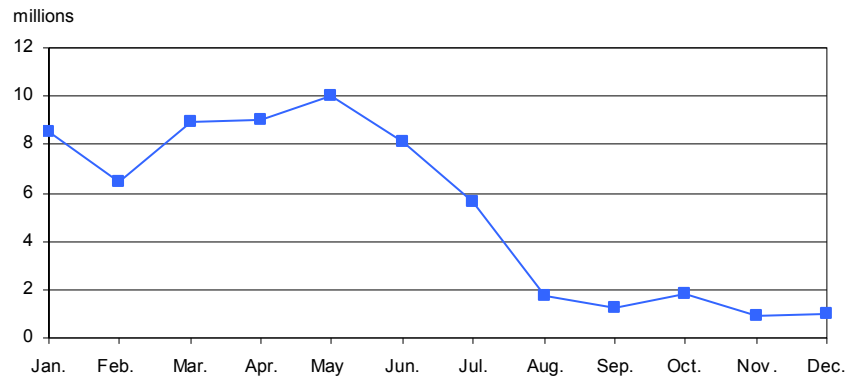
⁶¹ Victor Slăvescu, *La situation économique.....*, p. 50.

⁶² BNR, *Raportul Consiliului de administrație către Adunarea generală ordinară a acționarilor din 18 februarie 1934*, Bucharest, Imprimeria Băncii Naționale a României, 1934.

was made to regulate borrower-lender relations by issuing laws on debt conversion in April 1932 and April 1933.

Chart 6

The activity of the Bucharest-based Clearing House (1931)



Source: V. Slăvescu, *La situation économique ...*, p. 165

The issue was settled no sooner than 1934 when the law on liquidation of agricultural and urban debts was issued. Debts were diminished by percentages ranging between 20 percent and 50 percent while the repayment of the remaining claims was rescheduled over a longer time-span with interests ranging from 3 percent to 6 percent.

The said law also stipulated the reshaping of credit institutions. Thus, banks having claims subject to this piece of legislation were entitled to conclude payment arrangements with their lenders. Where the bank and its lenders failed to reach an arrangement, “the repayment capacity of the bank was established by a commission that set the percentage to be applied for debt mitigation and the payment terms and conditions. A bank was brought to termination only in case its financial standing could not sustain the repayment of a minimum level of debt.

The law stipulated the government coverage for the issuing house’s debts, which amounted to *leu* 7,875 million as well as for those incurred by *Creditul Funciar Rural*, *Creditul Funciar Urban*, *Creditul Ipotecar Tranzitoriu* și *Casa Rurală*. A credit restoration fund was established with a view to covering losses taken by leading banks in the claim mitigation process⁶³.

Apart from the support granted by banks during 1931, the evolution and especially the composition of the NBR’s rediscounted portfolio (Annex 1c) illustrated the extent of its involvement in supporting the Romanian economy to weather the crisis. Therefore, by the end of 1931, agricultural loans held the largest share in the volume of rediscount loans. Subsequently, their share dropped markedly to 13.19 percent in 1932 and 5.12 percent in 1933. Yet, according to the NBR’s reports, the drop was only apparent as by the enforcement of provisions on agricultural debt conversion, starting with 1932, the

⁶³ apud C.C. Kirițescu, *op. cit.*, p. 428, see also the Law on liquidation of agricultural and urban debts in *Monitorul oficial* No. 83 of 7 April 1934.

commercial paper signed by farmer labourers and rediscounted at the BNR were no longer converted. It is noteworthy that the “conversion” of matured commercial paper was a widespread practice in the Romanian banking system, by which the “three-month maturity rule” or the “nine-month maturity rule”, as in the case of the agricultural sector, was shunned. In this manner, short-term loans were converted into long-term loans which soon caused deposits to freeze.

Rediscount loans granted to the industrial sector showed interesting developments. Their volume increased during 1929 – 1933 in both absolute terms and as percentages so that by the end of the period under review it exceeded 50 percent of the rediscount loan stock extended by the NBR.

The economic crisis also pointed out a series of discrepancies in the relations between the NBR and the other credit institutions. The foreign technical advisor mentioned in its report that the NBR was not fully aware of the financial standing of the banks to which it had granted the discount right. The lack of information was due to the faulty operation of these levers which should have helped the issuing house to gain proper knowledge of the credit market. This state of affairs was attributable to the extensively formal nature of its rediscount operations. The previously mentioned procedure, according to which matured commercial paper discounted at the NBR were frequently not cashed in by the issuing house, yet they were exchanged for other matured commercial paper by the payer’s bank, was responsible for this formal behaviour. Apart from converting short-term loans into medium- and long-term loans, thereby causing the NBR loan portfolio to freeze, this practice prevented the issuing house from obtaining information on the credit-worthiness of the signatories to the respective commercial paper and, implicitly, the financial standing of the payer’s bank involved in discounting. Apart from all this, the said practice shed a dim light on the entire banking business conducted by the NBR, as a conclusion may have been reached that “in fact, the loans were taken not by the one that had accepted the commercial paper, but by the banker that had endorsed it. Or it is a basic principle accepted by every issuing house not to discount financial commercial paper⁶⁴”.

This deficiency in the operation of the NBR as well as the weaknesses of the Romanian banking system pointed out by the effects of the Great Depression compelled the Romanian state to establish the preventive supervision of the banking business. Accordingly, in 1934, the High Banking Council was founded in compliance with the Law on regulating banking business⁶⁵, the first Romanian piece of legislation in this field. The institution had legal personality of its own and had good representation of the interests of the state, the NBR and of all categories of banking institutions in Romania. It was attached to the NBR and among its tasks ranked the supervision and control of banking business. The establishment of banks was scrutinised by the Council that issued a licence after reviewing the overall economic situation, the need for a new credit institution, the fulfilment of the other legal requirements. The Bank register was a special register created in addition to the Trade register. It was to include the memorandum of association, the articles of association, the mentioning of the licensing decision by the High Banking Council and the Court ruling on the foundation of a new banking company.

The above-mentioned law stipulated new capital requirements and conditions regarding the business of the respective banking companies. In the case of joint-stock companies, joint-stock companies limited with limited liability and limited liability companies, the capital could range from *leu* 2 million in the rural area to at least *leu* 20 million in Bucharest. In the case of joint-stock

⁶⁴ ABNR, Secretariat Department Fond, file 31/1931, p. 121 and file 6/1929, pp. 96, 102.

⁶⁵ Law on the organisation and regulation of banking trade of 8 May 1934, published in *Monitorul oficial* No. 166 of 23 May 1934.

companies and limited liability companies, the said amount needed to be twice a large. The law stipulated each bank's obligation to set up a reserve capital. Moreover, it described in detail the operations that a bank was entitled to perform, by specifying the banking operations that needed to be licensed by the High Banking Council. The half-year and annual balance sheets had to be submitted to the division of the Trade register responsible for the activity of the respective banks, in order to be submitted to the Council and published in *Monitorul Oficial*. The banks entered into the Trade Register enjoyed a two-month period to get formalities ready for entering the register based on an application accompanied by the memorandum of association, the articles of association and the list of managers. The Council endorsed the changes in the articles of association, the increase or decrease of capital, mergers, etc⁶⁶.

In addition, the NBR also had tasks regarding the monitoring of banks. Each credit institution had to submit to the NBR monthly balance sheet and banks which had debts towards the NBR were compelled to put at its disposal, on the occasion of the thorough inspection of its activities, all the registers, documents and necessary data, except for the name of depositors⁶⁷.

The enforcement of the new law resulted in a larger number of mergers and, implicitly, in the drop of total number of credit institutions. Therefore, while 893 banks were operational in 1933, their number diminished to 873 in 1934, a trend that continued over the subsequent period. In exchange, a concentration of banking activity and capitals was detected, leading to the increase of the amounts in the credit institutions' balance sheets⁶⁸.

Concluding remarks

The Great Depression, through its entire evolution, affected deeply and adversely the economy of inter-war Romania. The consequences were visible in the sharp drop in the national income that, in 1932, accounted for only 62 percent of the national income relative to the year 1929. This required the reassessment of the economic potential as well as of the structures and the relations within the economy.

Table 9

Net national income		
Years	Net national income (leu millions)	Growth index (%)
1929	275,180	100
1930	239,122	87
1931	198,330	72
1932	170,942	62
1933	172,614	63

Source: *Enciclopedia României*, vol. IV, p. 964

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁷ *Enciclopedia României*, vol. IV, p. 537.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 573. see also V Axenciuc, *op. cit*, vol. III, p. 97.

The Great Depression forced the NBR to admit its failure in achieving the monetary stabilisation amid pressures on its cover stock from the withdrawal of foreign capitals, the need to secure the transfer abroad of the annual foreign debt service payments, the support granted to the credit system and to the state. Concurrently, the end of *leu* convertibility required the NBR to take on new tasks in the field of monitoring the trade in gold and foreign currencies and regarding the development of new structures pertaining to this activity.

However, mention should be made that the NBR had to cope not only with the domestic hardships induced by the crisis but also with the international monetary challenges. The relinquishment of pound sterling convertibility in 1931 and of US dollar convertibility in 1933 impaired heavily the gold exchange standard. In this context, the NBR moved to gradually alter its cover stock by removing foreign exchange from its composition.

The Great Depression meant for the NBR too an occasion to observe the weaknesses of the Romanian credit system as well as to acknowledge its own deficiencies in using discount as a lever to eliminate from the banking system the ailing credit institutions. The solution to this challenge was offered by the intervention of the state in the regulation of relations between borrowers and lenders by way of the law on the liquidity of urban and rural debts as well as by the creation of an institution meant to deal with the preventive supervision of the credit system, the High Banking Council in which the NBR played a key role.

The last aspect highlighted here, but not least important is the significant shift in the relations between the issuing house and the state. On the one hand, the pressures from the government on the NBR Board led, in the face of the latter's opposition, to the frequent appointment of NBR governors even in the absence of sufficient legal grounds. This affected the autonomy of the issuing house and created conditions for abuses from the part of the state, which, by frequent recourse to issuing notes with a view to covering budget expenditures put the equilibrium of money circulation in peril. On the other hand, the NBR was becoming an agent of the state in the economy via the role it had been entrusted with in the currency trade or in the supervision of the credit system.

Thus, the NBR emerged from the crisis seeing its dream of regaining *leu* convertibility shattered, with its autonomy impaired but with tasks and structures enabling it to deal with the new economic challenges.

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– Board of Directors Fond;
– Research Department Fond;
– Secretariat Department Fond.

Annex 2

Romania's balance of payments*

leu millions

Year	Foreign trade balance	Borrowings, credits, advances	External public debt (amounts transferred abroad with annuity title)	Public régies and the State	Miscellaneous	Invisibles	Balance
						(capital transfers abroad, repatriations)	(covered with gold and foreign exchange)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7=1+2+3+4+5+6
1927	4,258	434	-4,279	-600	350	2,657	2,820
1928	-5,226	4,646	-4,012	-586	350	2,097	-2,731
1929	-668	13,617	-5,392	-660	350	713	7,960
1930	5,477	838	-5,032	-662	320	-4,667	-3,726
1931	6,442	3,618	-6,090	-192	-17	-7,381	-3,620
1932**	4,711	1,647	-4,776	-384	-82	-1,460	-344
1933 (11 months)	2,485	-208	-2,423	-205	137	-435	-649

Source: Victor Slăvescu, *La situation économique de la Roumanie et sa capacité de paiement memorandum*,

MO Imprimeria Centrală, Bucharest, 1934, Annex 57

* Virgil Madgearu in *La capacité de paiement et la dette publique de la Roumanie*, Bucharest, 1933 provides different figures for Romania's balance of payments in the same time interval

** revised figures